THE REASONS

Of an EMINENT

PATRIOT

Offered in Behalf of Himſelf and Others in the

Houſe of COMMONS,

For Endeavouring to procure an

ENQUIRY

Into the Conduct of

R---t, E--l of *O--F--D*;

The Obſtacles they have met with in their Attempts to ſatisfy the Expectations of the People, and the Reſolutions they have taken to purſue the ſame Meaſures in the next Seſſions.

In a LETTER from a

Worthy Repreſentative of *LONDON*,

TO

His GRACE the D--- of *A---e*.

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THE REASONS Of an Eminent PATRIOT, &c.

May it pleaſe your Grace,

IT is with the utmoſt regret that I behold this happy criſis almoſt loſt, and all our endeavours to reſtore the rights and liberties of Great Britain rendered ineffectual by the miſtaken partiality of thoſe whoſe ſtation in elevated life ſhould incline them to be the chief protectors of ſuch an attempt. With what horror and deteſtation muſt future ages read the annals of this ſhameful æra, if they ſhall be handed down to them incorrupted! though it is a matter of doubt, if things are ſuffered to proceed

upon the footing they now ſtand, whether we mayn't become ſuch ſlaves that we ſhall be ſuffered neither to read, write or think in a little time, that is the only remnant of liberty we have now left; and every honeſt man and lover of his country will be glad to embrace an opportunity of that nature to clear himſelf from the imputation, which may too juſtly be laid upon his fellow ſubjects, of courting their own ſlavery and deſtruction. Our ſons muſt be as bluſhleſs as their fathers, if in future hiſtories they meet with an impartial account of the tranſactions of the late adminiſtration, and renowned exploits of the e—l of O—d, and can read them without emotion. But, notwithſtanding all the care that may be taken to conceal the true ſource and ſpring of our misfortunes, there is a noble reſentment in the ſpirit of every true Engliſhman, that will not ſuffer guilt to go unbranded, notwithſtanding he may be conſtrained by the inſolence of power, or a miſtaken favour and protection, to let it paſs unpuniſhed. The generous ardor which your Grace hath always ſhewn, to retrieve the rights and privileges of the people, and deliver them from the many heavy and almoſt intolerable burdens under which they labour, calls aloud for the grateful acknowledgment of all who are not aſhamed of being called Britons; and who teſtify their zeal to their country

try by ſtrenuouſly oppoſing the meaſures of thoſe who by their actions have ſet themſelves up as the avowed enemies thereof. Nor is it any complement to ſay, that all they have endeavoured to attain the great end of uncorrupted, unbiaſſed parliaments, and bringing the monſter to juſtice, who has rendered corruption and dependence the baſis of his power, founded on the deſtruction of our civil rights, has, in a great meaſure, been owing to the indefatigable pains your Grace has taken, in the great and glorious cauſe. As our zeal then catched the generous flame from you, and as you inſpired us to ſtruggle manfully againſt the oppreſſive force that was overwhelming us and all our poſterity, even the poſterity of thoſe blind infatuated wretches, who through avarice, or ignorance, were inclined to aid and abett the horrid deſigns of the grand diſturber of our peace; give me leave in behalf of myſelf and many others to inform your Grace, of the motives that induced us to urge all our reſolution to remove ſo terrible a monſter, as oppreſſion and corruption joined in one, whilſt you have always generouſly oppoſed his pernicious ſchemes in the upper houſe, we in the lower have been as ardently induſtrious to arm againſt their baleful influence, and though our endeavours have not been bleſſed with the ſucceſs we could have wiſhed; yet, by the ſteps

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have taken, and every one of our actions, which we dare declare to all the world, it will appear that our motives have been honeſt, our reſentments firmly grounded, and urged with a becoming zeal, though far from being actuated by a blind paſſion. Hitherto every attempt to come at public juſtice has been baffled, the plunderer is removed out of reach, and ſmiles triumphant in the ſpoils of an opulent nation, reduced to the loweſt diſgrace and beggary, without our being able to make him give an account of his infamous adminiſtration; therefore, as the ſeaſon is approaching, when it is expected, that we ſhall be ordered to adjourn the buſineſs of the nation till the next ſeſſion; we beg leave to take this opportunity of ſhewing your Grace our conduct on this important occaſion, and thereby giving our conſtituents a teſtimonial that notwithſtanding they have not received the ſatisfaction they aſked, and might juſtly expect, on the late change of the miniſtry; yet we have been no way negligent or backward in our endeavours to obtain it; and further to aſſure them, that the ſame aſſiduity and more, if poſſible, ſhall be employed the ſhort remainder of this ſeſſion, and be renewed in the following one, to accompliſh the laudable deſigns we have began, and gratify their utmoſt wiſhes. The Grecian hiſtorians inform us, that Demetrius Phalareus, for adminiſtring

ſtring the affairs of the commonwealth with juſtice and probity only, for the ſpace of ten years, had three hundred and ſixty ſtatues erected to his honour by the Athenians; yet this very miniſter, for abuſing the favours of the people and the truſt they had repoſed in him, by turning his power to the oppreſſion of thoſe who had beſtowed it upon him, afterwards his ſtatues were defaced, and he himſelf underwent the oſtraciſm; this wiſe commonwealth deeming it a very bad precedent to let any honours remain, tho' even the rewards of virtue, when the man had forſaken the cauſe for which they were raiſed. On the contrary of this, what a contemptible figure muſt England make in the eyes of her neighbours, for ſuffering a man whoſe conduct for twice the time of the Athenians had been one continued ſeries of oppreſſion and national ruin, to be raiſed to the higheſt pitch of honours a ſubject can attain to, without any one public virtue to recommend him? Demetrius could ſay, when he ſaw his ſtatues demoliſhed, "That the peo-
"ple might take away the honours they had
"beſtowed upon him, if they pleaſed, but they
"could never eraſe or deſtroy the virtues for
"which they firſt ſet them up: On the other hand, ſecure in the favour of one perſon, and contemning the vain efforts of the injured many, our ſtate Atlas may ſay, "The public may
"if they pleaſe, arraign my paſt conduct, point

"out

" out every glaring fault I have committed; in " ſhort, tho' they deprive me of all manner of " virtue, they can't take away the leaſt tittle of " my honour." Thus are times changed for the worſe, and are ſtill changing without the immediate interpoſition of providence, till vice and virtue muſt alter their natures. One wilful fault againſt the public was formerly ſufficient to overthrow the greateſt man, nor could the favour of one ſuperior protect him; but now a man may uſe the public as he pleaſes, provided by flattery or any other means he makes his party good at c—t. From ſeveral inſtances of this kind, but from the lateſt, more flagrant than any formerly, we cannot help concluding, that your Grace deſerves the greateſt regard of all our patriots for refuſing to act in conjunction with men who could be ſo meanly baſe to wink at oppreſſors exalted, and be deaf to the cries of an injured nation, exclaiming loudly againſt their miniſterial tyrants, and imploring juſtice and redreſs; ſince in this age he that will endeavour to do what ought to be done, or ſtudy to be truly virtuous and juſt will thereby hazard his fortune and ſafety; that more men are undone for their virtues than their vices, and a good man is in much more danger than a bad. As therefore your Grace hath in a proper manner *proteſted* to futurity your diſlike of theſe men and their proceedings, we think it not amiſs after ſo laudable

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an example, to give this as a *memorial* of our good intentions, tho' ſeveral unforeſeen events have fruſtrated them, hereby declaring, that if England is hereafter irretrievably enſlaved, we have uſed our beſt endeavours to keep her free, and that if vile corruption be ſtill ſuffered to reign, we unbiaſſed and alone have withſtood its utmoſt efforts, and as we ſcorn contamination appeal to mankind for the juſtneſs of our actions, that when hereafter this poor unhappy nation ſhall have too much reaſon to curſe the authors of her ruin, and fix opprobrious ſhame on the characters of thoſe who have ſued for the yoke of mercenary favour and courtly bondage; our children may pride themſelves in the integrity of their parents, and boaſt (a greater honour than the moſt pompous titles unmerited, or obtained by infamy) that their anceſtors amidſt a time of general corruption alone remained unblemiſhed.

The appellation of patriots hath very unjuſtly been applied to ſome who baſely ſubmitting to the ſervile taſk impoſed upon them have been too indolent or ſpiritleſs to ſtruggle, and for the ſake of being thought *moderate men* have ſuffered the greateſt exorbitancies, and the vileſt injuries to the public to paſs with impunity; they have ſlept out a debate, and nodded their aſſent to a new tax, an additional increaſe to the *growing* civil liſt, or a dangerous penal law; who

would have burſt forth in a flame at a poor tenant's cutting down a tree, or demoliſhing a quickſet hedge; they have let our whole iſland become a prey to foreigners, who would have pounded the cattle of all their neighbours for ſtraying into their cloſes: yet theſe think themſelves patriots, they allow peace to be a great bleſſing, and without ever conſidering the adventurous merchant, the ingenious manufacturer, or the laborious indiligent huſbandman, ſo long as they themſelves are capable of paying their taxes, living in a little paultry grandeur amongſt their country neighbours, and by coming up to town, during the buſineſs of the ſeſſions, if they can ſo manage a vote or two as to procure a place or employment for a younger ſon or a favourite nephew; they are content to doze away the remainder of their lives in a ſtate of ſenſeleſs inactivity, and condemn thoſe who have not temper enough to bear their approaching ruin ſo patiently, as reſtleſs turbulent ſpirits, enemies to the public tranquility, and diſſatisfied with the government: theſe, if they are patriots are ſuch tame paſſive ones, that it is almoſt impoſſible to reckon them within the number, like ſome lukewarm chriſtians who think they merit heaven by barely not being ſo bad as their neighbours; never troubling themſelves to recollect that the ſin of omiſſion is equal to the ſin of commiſſion; and as in religion, ſo likewiſe will it hold good

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in moral duties; the man that tacitly aſſents to the male practices of another, when he has it in his power to oppoſe or prevent them, becomes participator of his crimes.

On the other hand, tho' I think this *paſſive patriotiſm* highly blameable and very pernicious to a ſtate, I would not be reckoned an encourager of enthuſiaſtic oppoſition, or a favourer of thoſe who condemn the meaſures a miniſter takes merely becauſe they are his; no, theſe are both deſtructive to ſociety; yet I muſt needs ſay, that theſe zealots in politics in ſome caſes are of great uſe, and much preferable to the other; for if a man has no way to make his authority ſtand but by corruption or intimidating his opponents; their thorough diſlike to the corruptor and all his actions will make them temptation proof, as their eager untamed ſpirits will make them deſpiſe his menaces.

But between theſe two oppoſite principles, there is a happy medium, the only way to liberty and ſafety, which path whoever walks in, it will lead him to honour and confer happineſs on his country; when men of your Grace's diſtinguiſhed character in life point out this road to the ſubjects, ſhewing them at once the way to honeſt freedom and due obedience, we follow with pleaſure and purſue your ſteps with ardor; and with honeſt pride I ſpeak it, amongſt the many places that ſend repreſentatives, I know none

that has kept nearer this point than the *great city* which I have the honour to be one of thoſe ſhe has choſen to be her advocates in parliament: were I not a member of this glorious body, and ſo deeply intereſted in the welfare of this great metropolis (and conſequently of the whole nation) as I am, I ſhould look with contempt on the little low ſcurrile witticiſms which have been thrown on citizens by men whoſe hands have been unemployed with buſineſs, as their heads with thought, and who vainly imagine, that indolence and inſipid pertneſs conſtitute a *gentleman*; but leaving ſuch as theſe to their own empty reveries, I appeal to all men of ſenſe and unbiaſſed integrity, of what perſuaſion or diſtinction ſoever, whether this *illuſtrious* body (I know your Grace's good ſenſe will excuſe that epithet, and reſcue it from the malicious reflections of low cavillers, who may ſay, perhaps, it is only applicable to quality and high birth, as well knowing that worth and virtue alone beſtow true honour) I therefore muſt repeat it, whether the *illuſtrious* body of citizens have not ſtood the great bulwark of our declining liberties, and the main barrier between the nation's ruin and the miniſter's oppreſſion; they have neither ſlept ſupine when danger threatened, nor urged their zeal beyond the bounds of obedience and diſcretion: and as one mark of their being hearty in their country's cauſe, they have

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been the conſtant mark of the miniſter's reſentment; yet notwithſtanding that, all his endeavours to humble their ſpirits (as he hath often been pleaſed to term them) have proved ineffectual; as have likewiſe his artifices to biaſs their counſels and corrupt their principles; ſteady and unſhaken in their reſolutions, they ſmiled at his repeated threats and inſults with the ſame temper of mind as they deſpiſed his emiſſaries, and abhorred his low cunning and chicane. I may, perhaps, be accuſed of vanity for ſaying this, by ſome of thoſe thoughtleſs carping gentlemen beforementioned, who don't conſider that I am not now ſpeaking of myſelf, or my brethren as repreſentatives in particulaa, but of the whole collective body of citizens in general. What we have ſeperately done for the advancement of the public good, I ſhall ſubmit to your Grace in the following part, and rely on your deciſion, whether we have done our duty to our conſtituents or not; well knowing that if your Grace approves the ſteps we have taken they muſt merit the eſteem of all good men and ſincere lovers of their country; and as to thoſe who are not ſo their praiſe or cenſure are alike indifferent to us.

To recapitulate the many juſt objections that have been made to the adminiſtration of the e— of O— wou'd but be giving ſo many ſeparate reaſons, why every honeſt man has oppoſed him; but as they wou'd make a volume inſtead of being

ing comprized in the ſhort compaſs of a letter, and are already too well known, not only to your Grace, who has long been a ſorrowful eye witneſs of his miſconducts, but are obvious to perſon of the meaneſt capacity; I ſhall only repeat the direful effects of ſome of the moſt flagrant enormities, and which tho' we then oppoſed them with all the energy and force of reaſon we were maſters of, yet we beheld them ſwallowed glibly down by the majority, and were ſcarce allowed the liberty of repining at our own unhappy fate by his miſconduct, or rather ſettled reſolution to impoveriſh the nation and bring us all into a ſtate of ſlavery and dependence; I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to thoſe particulars only as ſeem to be at preſent the moſt proper matters for enquiry. And I muſt needs ſay, for my own part, that upon a ſtrict review of his whole ſeries of politicks both abroad at home all I can gather is, that he hath always ſhew'd a ſlaviſh cowardly dependence and fear of our natural enemies abroad as he hath aſſumed the bravo and tyrant, and trampled on our rights and liberties at home: to prove this it it neceſſary to obſerve, that the main article of our forefathers political creed was that the only method to advance the reputation and power of Great Britain was to keep France humble; that tho' we might ſometimes be at peace with that inſinuating and deſigning nation, yet it cou'd never be our intereſt to have

a cloſe friendſhip with or put a thorough confidence in her; and her infidelity was ſo well known, that French faith was become as proverbially infamous amongſt the modern Britons, as *Punica fides* was with the ancient Romans; our anceſtors likewiſe juſtly thought that an union of councils between France and Spain might be of as dangerous conſequence to the intereſts and trade of Great Britain, as an union of thoſe two crowns wou'd be to the liberties of Europe; and that for this reaſon we ought to promote, as much as poſſible a good underſtanding between the courts of Vienna and Madrid; and to foment, if poſſible, continual jealouſies and animoſities between France and Spain. Theſe were the good old maxims of ſtate; and, I believe, they will ſtill hold invariably good, now I think it will appear evident by all the actions of our late ſtate pilot that his maxims were quite contrary, that they were ſo thro' ignorance, I can't think, nor wou'd I ſo much wrong his judgment and abilities as to impute it to that; no, he certainly knew that the before mentioned meaſures were right to be purſued, but the reaſons why he did not I can't aſſign; that is hitherto a ſecret to himſelf; if the ſame methods are taken to prevent enquiries in that as in other reſpects, it it likely always to remain ſo: but conjectures ſo probably founded will give us a very odd opinion of the matter; for it is reaſonable to think that any man who will

will make uſe of undue influence on others will alſo accept it himſelf; and eſpecially when *out of power* he urges that very thing as a crime in others which upon his exaltation he immediately gives into; which was the caſe with him, as I ſhall obſerve preſently.

Purſuant to thoſe fundamental principles of our ſires, an occaſion offered which entirely correſponded with their views; the affront put upon the court of Spain by the *complaiſant*, *debonair*, miniſtry of the court of Verſailles ſoon after the death of the late regent afforded an excellent handle to us for the aforemention'd purpoſes, and the defenſive alliance which was thereupon entred into between Spain and the Emperor, might by our acceſſion thereto have given us an opportunity of driving the French out of *Hiſpaniola*, and ſome other iſlands in the Weſt Indies which wou'd have entirely prevented their encroaching upon us in the *ſugar trade* (your Grace I don't doubt will think very excuſable for aſcribing this to our politicians as a blunder becauſe it hurt trade, as the conſequence of encouraging commerce is well known to you, notwithſtanding it has been the ſtanding topic of mirth and inſipid jeſts to all the embroider'd witlings and young jackdaws of the c—rt rookery for years paſt; but as a merchant I ſpeak feelingly, as a repreſentative of merchants it is my duty to inforce it); I ſay therefore if we had embraced

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the advantages which providence at that criſis flung in our way, we might have ſaved that valuable branch of trade which is ſince very much impoveriſh'd and decay'd, if not wholly loſt to us: nay, by ſuch an acceſſion we might have got every diſpute between Spain and us ſettled to our own liking, and every thing rectified that was amiſs in the treaty of Utrecht, except that of uniting the Empire and Spain under one monarch, which union was at that time thought by the miniſtry then in being not altogether conſiſtent with the ballance of power in Europe; tho' at the very ſame time the preventing of this union was made one of the moſt heavy complaints againſt the treaty by that very gentleman who being then *out of place* was bawling loudly for patriotiſm in order to get in; which he no ſooner obtained than decently giving himſelf the lye he employed all his eloquence to exaggerate and ſet in the moſt terrible light the *overgrown* power of the houſe of Auſtria: on ſuch ſlight turns and frail capricios of mankind depend the welfare of ſtates and the protection, lives and ſafety of millions; ſo ſoon does the crafty ſtateſman change that to aſcertain his true principles and give the proper ſtandard of his honeſty is a taſk harder than the fixing of Mercury; thus Sir R—W— a *patriot* in the tower, when he is made a K—'s favourite and prime minifter becomes deſtroyer of his country and who knows but the E— of O—

may reign triumphant, and forgetting that he ever was ſir R. W. loudly inſiſt upon his innocence, and heartily proteſt he never wronged the nation at all; at leaſt we may think ſo, if by former tranſactions we may judge of his future ones; for no ſooner did he find himſelf firmly ſeated, but he endeavoured to change our whole ſcene of politics, and all his negociations ſeemed to ſpeak that the following maxims was to be the baſis of his enſuing conduct; that the preſerving the reputation of his k— and country, and his own grandeur and quiet were two diſtinct things, tho' ſome former miniſters had fooliſhly coupled them together; that, for that purpoſe, it was neceſſary to vary his behaviour, with regard to foreign occurrences and domeſtic affairs: as to the firſt he concluded, that as the wiſeſt man cannot foreſee all, nor command any diſtant events, a wiſe *ſtate pilot* will never give himſelf much trouble, about thoſe misfortunes which may happen to his country, if they be ſuch as will not probably fall upon it while he is at the helm; and that a *prime ſtates ſteerſman*, if he was not himſelf bred a general, ought of all things to avoid a war, becauſe ſhould it prove ſucceſsful, the commander in chief will eclipſe his glory, and in all likelihood retrench his power; tho', on the contrary, if the war ſhould prove unſucceſsful the miniſter might be made to anſwer for the misfortune. Theſe were certainly

tainly the reſolutions he laid down to himſelf, and his conduct ever ſince his advancement to the high ſtation he bore, ſeems regulated by theſe his two chief maxims; but as theſe were of a private nature, they were reſerved in petto; and his behaviour in regard to domeſtic affairs ſo ſtrongly coincides with them that it puts it paſt all doubt; for his whole debate whenever people complained of inſults and injuries received from their neighbours, was to prove, *that the greateſt happineſs a trading nation could enjoy was peace*, cunningly reſerving to himſelf this proviſo, that it ſhould not diminiſh our debts nor taxes, which was the natural reſult of another reſerved maxim, that in order to ſecure himſelf in the favour of *ſome folks*, and to keep them in a good humour, (which ſo long as he did he valued not how angry he made the reſt of the nation) it was abſolutely neceſſary to have a dependent majority in p——t, a large and unaccountable c—l l—ſt, great debts and heavy taxes; and, in order, to render his ſcheme compleat, this led him on to a third maxim, That to bind the people to their good behaviour, a numerous ſtanding army muſt always be kept up: upon this foundation and the corruption of the people was to haſten their own ruin, and thereon erect the edifice of his triumph; I wiſh his intentions had been honeſt, and I could have ſaid the fabrick of his glory.

The ſequel muſt convince every body of the truth of this, for being naturally timerous, and yet fond of power, (a very bad compound in any man) he dreaded the power of France, even when he might have curbed it, if he had been poſſeſſed of the leaſt ſpirit of fortitude, but inſtead of that he flung himſelf into their arms, and like a young effeminate Petit Maitre durſt only be brave when he had his bully at his back; he foreſaw that the only means by which he could propoſe to enjoy an uninterrupted tranquility was by keeping up a cloſe correſpondence with France, and taking care not to enter into any meaſures, but ſuch as might be agreeable to that court; nor to refuſe entering into ſuch meaſures as they might think fit to propoſe. Provided he did not diſoblige his moſt chriſtian majeſty, or his good friend the c—d—l he concluded, that he might quarrel with any power in Europe, or with all in their turn, without involving the nation in ſuch a war as might diſturb his repoſo; France he knew was the only nation in Europe that could with any probability of ſucceſs play the pretender upon us; and tho' they ſhould fail in this, yet we could not well carry on a war againſt France, without forming or joing in an alliance with ſome of the powers upon the continent, ſuch a war, he foreſaw, might render ſome one or other of our generals, (and in all probability ſuch an one as your Grace knows very

very well he never had any great eſteem for) as conſiderable as the duke of Marlborough was in the reign of queen Anne, which would of courſe make him but an *appendix* to the *general*, inſtead of having *all our generals* made nothing but *appendixes* to him. Theſe were the effects which he dreaded from a war with France; whereas from a war with any of the other powers of Europe, he had nothing to fear, but the interruption and decay of trade, which we may reaſonably ſuppoſe gave him no uneaſineſs; becauſe the decay of trade could not be imagined to be very ſenſibly felt in his life-time (tho' to ſay the truth he hath made quicker work with it than he intended at his firſt ſetting out) and it is evident that he never gave himſelf any trouble about what might happen to his country after his death.

He had ſcarce found *ways and means* to raiſe himſelf to that influence which he ſo long retained, and I am afraid unhappily for the nation ſtill retains in private, but he found an opportunity of ſhewing a ſignal inſtance of his good will towards France; we had a few years before laid an high obligation upon the Emperor, and raiſed great animoſities between France and Spain; we had procured the Emperor the large and fruitful iſland of Sicily, in exchange for the ſmall and barren iſland of Sardinia, and we had got the French to carry war almoſt into the

the heart of Spain ; the French ſoon began to ſee their miſtake, and therefore they endeavoured to atone for their former conduct, by procuring for Spain an honourable peace with us, and making a breach between us and the Emperor, both which by the aſſiſtance of our worthy miniſter they accompliſh'd, for we deſerted our good and natural ally the Emperor and concluded a ſeparate treaty with Spain ; nay, farther at the ſame time and place a defenſive alliance with France and Spain, to which we were not ſo good manner'd as to invite the Emperor to ſucceed ; 'tis true we did pay that complement to their high mightineſſes, ſo that this ſeem'd directly levell'd againſt the Emperor who had been our ally in the war with Spain ; thus we eſtabliſh'd a good underſtanding between France and Spain, reſtored the good graces of the Spaniſh faction in France, but it highly diſobliged the Emperor, as he ſoon after ſhew'd us by eſtabliſhing the Oſtend company. The conſequence of this treaty reflected the higheſt diſhonour upon the nation, tho' it was but a ſpecimen of many others that follow'd of the ſame incomprehenſible ſtupidity; for notwithſtanding we made ſuch mean conceſſions on our ſide in the ſeparate treaty between Spain and us, as to cauſe to be reſtored all the Spaniſh ſhips taken by the Engliſh fleet in the yer 1718, with the guns, &c. or to pay for thoſe which had been ſold, and notwithſtanding his late

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m—y's letter to the king of Spain which gave them a pretence for inſiſting upon the reſtitution of Gibraltar and port Mahone, (a pretence they never yet in expreſs terms departed from) yet the court of Madrid never complied with one of the favourable articles which we demanded of them, and which the king promiſed ſhou'dbe perform'd viz. the reſtoration of the Britiſh effects ſeized in the dominions of Spain at the beginning of the war. Theſe conceſſions had they been anſwered by Spain were ſhameful to us, as they were infamous, and evidently ſhew the bad heart of our miniſter. It cou'd not be ignorance, but muſt be premeditated ———I had almoſt ſaid villany for he cou'd not chuſe but know that our admiral received thanks in the moſt publick manner for his brave behaviour in the year 1718, that the Spaniſh ſhips he took belong'd to us by the rights of war, and therefore it was not altogather ſo honourable for us to oblige ourſelves to reſtore them ; and as to the effects that were ſeized, that proceeding was expreſly contrary to an article in the treaty of 1667, and by that they ought not only to have been reſtored, but to have been reſtored with damages, and therefore this treaty was diſh onourable on our ſide becauſe we accepted of leſs than we were entitled to by the rules of common juſtice : if theſe things were not the effects of what I juſt now mentioned, they muſt

ariſe from what I firſt imputed them to, downright *puſillaminity*.

The Emperor juſtly irritated at our foreſaking him in the manner we had down, embraced the offers of Spain; this again put us in a panic and like a frighted child we run into the arms of our French nurſe, and this porduced the never to be forgotton treaty of Hanover; this was the caſe at that time. The court of France had reaſon to fear that there were really ſome ſecret offenſive articles in the Vienna alliance againſt France tho' there were certainly (as appeared afterwards) none againſt England, or at leaſt that Spain was then meditating ſome ſort of revenge againſt them, and by that alliance had laid a foundation for ſuch a purpoſe; therefore it was neceſſary for them to form a counter alliance, and our miniſter cou'd not refuſe adviſing us to join with them without departing from what he had laid down as the inviolable maxim of his conduct. Purſuant to this treaty we immediately broke off all correſpondence with the Emperor and at the inſtigation of France ſent ſtrong ſquadrons of men of war both to the Weſt Indies and Mediterranean; the ſailors were rejoiced at this hoping for a rich booty, and the breaſt of every true Briton glow'd with the hopes of a ſufficient revenge; but this was not our ſtateſman's intent for there were peremptory inſtructions given to our admirals, not to commit

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hoſtilities of any kind : Spain however looked upon our ſendind out of ſuch ſquadrons as a declarations of war and immediately began all manner of hoſtilities againſt us ; this equipping two powerful ſquadrons, augmenting our army at home, taking a body of Heſſians into our pay, and giving large ſubſidies to ſeveral powers of the North, and ſome *mighty and illuſtrious German princes* was all we gained by the famous treaty of Hanover ; France took this opportunity to make things right with Spain, and then *mediated* us into the more famous treaty of Seville : ſoon after this to ſhew his complaiſance to all parties, and to aboliſh the Oſtend company he very cordially makes overtures to the Emperor, and a treaty was concluded between the Emperor, Spain and us. This, at firſt view, looked like affronting our good neighbours the French, tho' it was privately very agreeable to them, becauſe it regarded nothing but the ſettlement of Don Carlos in Italy, according to the method propoſed by the courts of France and Spain ; and tho' this ſettlement of Don Carlos ſeems to have been the only conſideration for our guarantying in ſuch an abſolute manner the Emperor's Pragmatick ſanction, yet both France and Spain refuſed to join with us in that guaranty ; ſo that it may be ſaid we were at the ſole expene of ſettling Don Carlos in Italy ; and for

this purpoſe we put ourſelves to another expence the ſame year, by ſending a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war into the Mediterranean, to have the honour of conducting that young Spaniſh Don to Italy, an honour which, by the by, he took care not to allow them.

We were now flattered by this great man and his emiſſaries with the proſpect of a laſting peace, when immediately the troubles of Poland flung us into a new dilemma, we were obliged to aſſiſt the Emperor both by expreſs articles and the ſtrongeſt ties of honour: but what are they when put in competition with an innate dread of the ſuperior and growing power of France? however tho' he advis'd us not to join in the war, nor to give the Emperor our ally any aſſiſtance, yet in purſuance of the ſame maxims he adviſed us to make the uſual advantages of that untoward accident. Upon our part the war opened a new ſcene for negociation. We made ſome new treaties, granted a new ſubſidy to the Danes, and in conjunction with our good allies the Dutch, concerted a plan of peace, for which the powers then at war ſhewed the utmoſt regard; as appeared from the private treaty ſoon after concluded between the Emperor and France; for tho' by that treaty, the French got Lorrain to themſelves, contrary to their expreſs declaration at the beginning of the war, yet they did

did not take ſo much from the Emperor in Italy as Spain and Sardinia had a mind they ſhould. At the ſame time we were not idle at home; we increaſed our army, and to the great encouragement of our ſeamen, fitted out a ſquadron which obliged us to contract ſome new debts. All this while Spain kept us negotiating and treating to *no* purpoſe, whilſt her guarda coſta's were plundering us to *very good* purpoſe. This was ſuffered a long time with impunity, 'till the complaints of the plundered merchants, and the voice of the people ſpake ſo loudly for redreſs, that notwithſtanding all their endeavours to ſuppreſs their being heard, they at length reached the throne; the ear of majeſty always open to hear and avenge the wrongs of his ſubjects, received their plaints with a becoming openneſs and promiſe of juſt revenge for the inſults that had been offered: theſe were doubtleſs his majeſty's intentions, which the macheniſt took care to elude by ſpecious pretences. The bad management of the preſent war with Spain has been ſo ſtrongly diſplayed, the errors thereof, and a ſure method to retrieve the misfortunes occaſioned thereby ſo well pointed out by your Grace, in a ſpeech made in the houſe of peers, that it would be preſuming in me to attempt any addition thereto, and as it is in the hands and imprinted in the hearts of all the nation, it

is needleſs. This curſory view, I think, ſufficiently proves the truth of part of the poſition I firſt laid down, that he has been a dupe and coward in all his foreign negociations; which ſufficiently warrants a national enquiry and puniſhment for him; as in juſtice it ought to abſolve them from adhering to the load of weak treaties he has made, which as it was without the people's conſent, they have always teſtified was entirely contrary to their will.

As to the other part of his playing the bravo at home, no man in his ſober ſenſes will take upon him to deny it, if he conſiders, the many penal laws that he has cauſed to be made, the legions of exciſemen and other officers that have been turn'd looſe with unlimited power to prey upon us at their diſcretion; have not places and penſions been ſplit, divided and ſubdivided to raiſe trifling pittances to draw over the weak and irreſolute to ruin their country; and have not ſtanding armies, bullied the more hardy and reſolute into compliance; thus divide the nation into three parts, and two of them have been at his beck, the remaining third who have been bold enough to continue honeſt, have been given up a prey to their recreant fellow ſubjects, the fearful ſimple and ignorant, have been cajoled by promiſes and allured by gifts and corruptive bribes tamely to give their aſſents to laws, which the rapacious

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and plunder-ſeeing part of mankind who have been ſelected from the reſt and kept in conſtant pay for idleneſs and rapine have been employ'd to ram down our throats: have not our home dominions and colonies been almoſt wholly bullied out of their trade by his means? at home it has been clogg'd by taxes, hamper'd by laws, and flead alive by embargoes and thouſand other reſtraints too obvious to every one to need mention. Our colonies have conſtantly been peſter'd with weak, wicked and indigent governors, who having ſpent their patrimony here, and voted till they have become uſeleſs have been ſent abroad to recruit their ruin'd fortunes by plundering and grievouſly amercing the laborious planters, &c. but much more by the erection of new poſts here, ſuch as *auditors* and *agents* whoſe exactions have been more terrible than the Spaniſh depredations. Not to enumerate any more, I think theſe were ſufficient to juſtify our Enquiry into the ſecret conduct of this bad man when his open tranſactions are ſo notoriouſly bad, it is reaſonable to imagine the covert ones muſt be much worſe; we often attempted it laſt p——t but to no purpoſe we therefore waited with the utmoſt impatience the meeting of this to make one more glorious ſtruggle in the cauſe of liberty, the firſt opening ſeem'd to promiſe us all the ſucceſs we cou'd wiſh, we drove him from the h—ſe wherein to their

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ſhame be it ſpoken he had before ſo great a number of corrupt dependents ; but alas we found the taſk too difficult to be effected ſo ſoon as we cou'd have wiſh'd tho' we had deprived him of his viſible pernicious power, and drove him from the outworks he had ſo long defended againſt the united forces of freedom, truth and reaſon, we found him ſo ſtrong intrench'd in *favour* and *protection*, that all our efforts to remove him have hitherto proved abortive ; the obſtacles that have oppoſed our enquiry, have been his ſtill baſking ſecure in his illgot wealth in the ſunſhine of r—l favour ; his accomplices and abettors in his dark and ſecret ſchemes perſiſting in an obſtinate ſilence ; but which is what we muſt bewail above all, in his having by *ſome means* or other procured a majority in his favour in a place which we always thought wou'd be above ſcreening the guilty or denying juſtice to bring forth an innocent man to his acquittal ; but our expectations have been baulk'd and other meaſures muſt be taken or the nation muſt groan under their burden till ——they can bear it no longer.

Our intentions were honeſt, our actions have been all levell'd at the ſame mark, the *doing right* and *giving eaſe* to our oppreſſed country, we have not been able to attain theſe glorious ends, but I ſhall now conclude with aſſuring your Grace, and all who yet remain *Engliſhmen unfrenchiſied*,

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or *unw—p—l—ſed* (which are ſynonymous terms) that if it pleaſe indulgent heaven to ſpare us life and liberty 'till next ſeſſions, we will return with double vigour to the arduous taſk; when we hope to ſee Great Britain reſtored to her former ſtate of glory, power and freedom, or ſhall with pleaſure deſire to fall and periſh with her ruins.

I am,

Your Grace's, &c.